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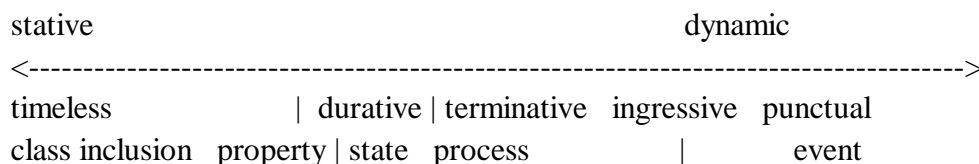
Christian Lehmann

1. Introduction

In traditional word-formation theory, concepts such as `factitive verb' or `iterative verb' are often based on a combination of semantic, grammatical and purely structural criteria. For instance, in Latin grammar it is customary to refer to verbs derived in the *-sc*-suffix as inchoative verbs. While such a combination of criteria may be useful for the identification of language-specific categories and processes, a language-independent approach requires either a purely functional basis - in which case it will be onomasiological - or a purely structural basis - in which case it will be semasiological. In this contribution, an attempt will be made to characterize the word-class and aspectual character ("aktionsart") system of Latin in very general terms on an onomasiological basis.

In such an approach, Latin grammatical categories cannot be the basis of the classification. Therefore, it will not be a classification of Latin verbs, given that the verb is a grammatical category. Instead, we will have to start from a classification of situations and only gradually narrow down on Latin grammatical categories.

The literature on predicate classes has been reviewed in Lehmann 1991[P]. There, the parameters which structure situations and are of linguistic relevance have been set out, and operational criteria for their assessment have been proposed.[1] Briefly, a situation consists of a set of participants and an immaterial center connecting them which may be called the participatum. While participants, their properties and relations make an essential contribution to the type of situation thus formed, the intrinsic properties of the participatum are at the core of a classification of situations. The most important among those properties of a participatum which are conceptually independent of the participants, and the only one to be treated here, is the internal time structure of a situation. Situations may be ordered on a scale of dynamicity as shown in F1.

F1. *Dynamicity of situations*

```
stative                                          dynamic
<------------------------------------------------------------------------------->
timeless              | durative | terminative  ingressive  punctual
class inclusion  property | state  process         |          event
```

The most important criterion in this scale is time-stability (cf. Givón 1979, ch. 8); it decreases from the left to the right pole. Correlated with this is a gradual difference between predicates that apply essentially to a referent and such that apply to it accidentally or contingently.

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[1] Vester 1983, ch. 2, while making partly different distinctions from those in F1 and using different terminology, reviews a set of useful tests, with their application to Latin. Pinkster 1988, ch. 11.1.1 provides a classification of situations as a basis for aspectual characters in Latin.

The primary categorization by which languages respond to this aspect of cognition is in terms of major word classes. At the stative pole of F1, we find nouns; at the dynamic pole, we find verbs. Important differences among languages relate to the existence of another word class, viz. the adjective, between the poles, and to the way the boundaries between these grammatical classes are drawn with respect to F1. Within the class of verbal predicates, there is a secondary categorization in terms of aspectual character.

2. Classes of predicates

2.1. Class predicates

Class inclusion conveys the timeless essence of an entity. In Latin, class predicates fall into two word classes. The first is the (substantive) noun, which is the same word class which primarily expresses participants. Both by their morphology and by their syntax, nouns are diametrically opposed to verbs. They exhibit none of those morphological categories which relate to the time structure of a situation (tense, aspect) or which comprise the relational structure of the participatum (voice). Given that their primary function is not to express the participatum, but to express a participant, if they are to be predicated, they generally have to be verbalized by means of the copula. Under circumstances which are little known, the copula may be omitted, so that we get sentences such as *cur hostis Spartacus, si tu ciuis?* `why should Spartacus be an enemy, if you are a citizen?' (Cic. Parad. 30)

The other word class in which class predicates may be found is the adjective. Classificatory adjectives include *Romanus* `Roman', *humanus* `human', *vicanus* `villager'. As the examples show, there is a productive derivational pattern for the formation of such adjectives. The particular ease with which they substantivize testifies to their functional closeness to substantive nouns.

With respect to the grammatical categorization of class predicates, Latin is certainly like most languages. It should be mentioned, however, that there are some languages that behave differently. In Abkhaz, class inclusion may be expressed by inflecting a noun like a verb and using this in syntactic predicate function (Hewitt 1979:46f). Iroquoian languages are even more extreme in making, in general, no grammatical distinction between words that serve primarily as participants and words that serve primarily as participata: in principle, every content word may bear the grammatical categories which are characteristic of the verb in other languages (Sasse 1988).

2.2. Property predicates

A property characterizes an entity in a timeless, but not necessarily essential way. Property predicates are adjectives in Latin. Both by their morphology and by their syntax, Latin adjectives are a subclass of nouns s.l. Just as nouns, they generally require a copula if they are to be predicated. It is only under certain conditions that nominal sentences such as *iucundi acti labores* `pleasant are works done' (Cic. Fin. 2, 105) are used. Typological alternatives to such a categorization are, on the one hand, adjectives which, although still being noun-like, do not share

all of the properties of substantive nouns, and on the other hand, verbs which express properties. Cf. Lehmann 1991[L], §6 for some examples.

The Latin adjective is a large and productive word-class.[2] Therefore, property predicates may be formed by numerous derivational processes that convert diverse kinds of bases into adjectives. Suffice it to mention a few of them. One of the processes deriving adjectives from nouns s.s. is suffixation of *-osus* `rich in', as in *lapis* `stone' - *lapidosus* `stony'. On the other hand, more dynamic concepts may be used to characterize an entity in a less contingent way by abstracting away from their time-boundness. Thus, participles may provide property concepts. Examples based on active participles are *diligens* (selecting) `diligent' or *patiens* (suffering) `patient'; ones based on passive participles are *diuersus* (turned apart) `diverse' or *perfectus* (made completely) `perfect'. Besides such processes of lexicalization, there are rather productive ways of directly characterizing a referent by a kind of situation that it is typically involved in. This is more or less the function of the suffix *-ax*, as in *aud´re* `dare' - *audax* `daring' or *fallere* `deceive' - *fallax* `deceptive'.

2.3. State predicates

A state shares with both property and durative process the feature of lacking any time limits. It is unlike a property in applying only temporarily, and unlike a durative process in involving no change during the time at which it holds. In the languages that have adjectives, their semantic locus is in property concepts, while the semantic locus of verbs is in event concepts. States occupy an intermediate position in F1 and may be treated grammatically either like properties or like durative situations. Consequently, some languages such as German represent practically all state concepts by adjectives, while others such as Tamil represent most of them by verbs. Given their ambivalence, it is also possible that some states are expressed by adjectives, others by verbs. This is essentially the situation in Latin. On the one hand, there are such state adjectives as *aeger* `sick', *ieiunus* `fasting'. On the other hand, there are such stative verbs as *aegrotare* `be sick', *esurire* `be hungry'.

In Proto-Indo-European, derivation in -´ was a productive way of forming stative verbs. Within Latin, we have a few such correspondences as:

iacere (telic, tr.) `throw' - *iac´re* (stative, intr.) `lie',
pendere (telic, tr.) `weigh' - *pend´re* (stative, intr.) `hang'.

Cf. also *sidere* (telic) `sit down' - *sed´re* (stative) `sit'. Comparable with *iacere/iac´re*, Lithuanian has *gulti* `lie down' - *gul´ti* `lie'. A comparison of other Indo-European languages yields such pairs as Lat. *capere* (telic) `seize' - Ahd. *hab´n* (stative) `have' or OHG *niman* (telic) `take' - OCS *imeti* (stative) `have'. Derivation in -´- apparently formed stative (more specifically, resultative) verbs on the basis of telic verbs.

Many of these stative verbs have made their way into Latin, and the overwhelming majority of intransitive Latin -´-verbs is, in fact, stative. Nevertheless, the formation is no longer

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[2] Cf. Untermann 1988 for a comprehensive lexicological classification of adjectives on the basis of several languages, including Latin.

productive there. On the other hand, there is a productive way of deriving adjectives from stative - ´-verbs:

> *um´re*   - *umidus* `humid',
> *ual´re*   - *ualidus* `strong, healthy',
> *liu´re*   - *liuidus* `blue',
> *frig´re* - *frigidus* `cold',

and so forth. While the base verbs designate states, the derived adjectives primarily designate properties. This regularity confirms the general tendency of F1. However, given that such stative verbs as the above are no longer productively formed in Latin, the corresponding adjectives increasingly take on their meanings. In the Romance languages, we find none of the above verbs, but many of the adjectives based on them, for the designation of states.

Given that the primary function of the adjective is the expression of properties, in languages that have very few adjectives, these exclusively designate properties (cf. Dixon 1982). The productive use of verbs for the expression of states in Proto-Indo-European and their ousting, in this function, by adjectives during the history of Latin inspires the hypothesis that the adjective had a more restricted function in Proto-Indo-European and widened its functional potential during the development leading to the Romance languages. There are some facts to support such a hypothesis. On the one hand, there is the nominal grammatical character of the adjective in archaic Indo-European languages, which is completely in line with a function close to that of nouns in F1. On the other hand, during the development from Latin to Romance, hosts of active participles got isolated from the verbal inflectional paradigm and joined the class of stative adjectives, thus extending the function of the adjective further to the right in F1.

Looking back on the predicate classes reviewed so far, we find that adjectives are used in all three of them. However, while there is nothing but adjectives to designate property concepts, adjectives share the function of designating classes with substantive nouns, and they share the function of designating states with verbs. Thus, although the Latin adjective is a vast and highly productive word class with a wide range of functions, it is still clear that its locus is in the designation of property concepts.

2.4. Durative predicates

A durative process is a situation which holds for a certain time whose limits are extrinsic to the situation. With reference to this criterion, durative situations are also called atelic, while those further to the right in F1 are telic. A durative situation is subject to internal changes during the time that it holds which generally manifest themselves on at least one of the participants (including its position in space). Therefore, it requires a continual input of energy. As soon as we pass from state to process in F1, we only find verbs in Latin just as in most (probably all) other languages. There are many primary durative verbs, such as:

> *ire* `go',
> *ducere* `lead',
> *portare* `carry',
> *orare* `speak, pray'.

Moreover, the class of durative verbs is productive in various ways. On the one hand, they can be derived from less dynamic predicates, as in:

insanus   - *insanire* `be mad',
seruus   - *seruire* `serve',
minister - *ministrare* `serve',
miles   - *militare* `serve as soldier',
eques   - *equitare* `act as horseman',
iudex   - *iudicare* `(act as) judge',
uigil   - *uigilare* `be awake, be on guard',

and so forth. On the other hand, they can be derived from more dynamic predicates. However, the boundary inherent in telic verbs cannot simply be released. Therefore, the way to durativize such a predicate is to give it an iterative/frequentative meaning. In Latin, this can be done by the *-ta-* derivation, as in:

nuere   - *nutare* `nod',
dicere   - *dictare* `say',
iacere   - *iactare* `throw',
salire `jump' - *saltare* `dance'.

For durative predicates derived from state predicates cf. §2.6.

2.5. Terminative predicates

A terminative process is a situation which holds for a certain time during which it approaches an intrinsic limit. Thus, it has a built-in end. Primary intransitive terminative verbs are rare. There are, however, a couple of transitive verbs of this kind, such as:

pingere `draw, paint',
del´re `destroy',
domare `tame'.

Most terminative verbs, both intransitive and, especially, transitive, are derived by preverbation. The semantic motivation of this process is in verbs of concrete motion and transport. These are basically durative. However, if a spatial reference point is specified, then this acts as a boundary to the process and renders it terminative. Examples are:

cedere `move, withdraw'; durative: *transuorsus ... cedit quasi cancer* `he moves backwards like a crab' (Pl. Ps. 955); terminative: *cedere e patria* `go away from fatherland' (Cic. Phil. 10, 4, 8).

ducere `lead'; durative: *[iter] uix qua singuli carri ducerentur* `a way on which wagons could hardly pass one by one' (Caes. B.G. 1, 6, 1); terminative: *mulierculas sunt in castra ducturi* `they are going to bring their little women into the camp' (Cic. Cat. 2, 10, 23).

In preverbation, the verb incorporates such a spatial reference. The preverb is a relator whose oblique complement is the reference point (cf. Lehmann 1983). If the preverb functions similarly to a preposition, then it enables the verb to govern a complement representing the reference point, as in *excedere* or *inducere*. If the preverb functions similarly as an adverb, then it incorporates deictic reference to the reference point, as in *exhaurire* `exhaust' or *dispergere* `disperse'. Either

way, the relation to the reference point, and thereby the boundary, is integrated into the verb meaning. Therefore, whatever the specific meaning of the preverb may be,[3] the verb becomes terminative. Examples matching the ones before are:

excedere `depart': *excessurum se ex Italia* `that he will withdraw from Italy' (Cic. Phil. 12, 6, 15).

inducere `lead into': *elephantos in primam aciem induci* `that the elephants be led right into the line of battle' (Liv. 27, 14, 6).

Other verbs of the same type include:

> *pellere* `drive'      - *appellere* `drive to',
> *haurire* `draw'      - *exhaurire* `exhaust'.

This pattern generalizes in two directions. First, preverbs such as *con-* `together', *dis-* `asunder', *re-* `back' are used which are not related to adverbials that might serve as a reference point. Relevant examples include:

> *spargere* `strew, sprinkle' - *dispergere* `disperse',
> *agere* `drive'      - *cogere* `bring together' - *redigere* `bring back',
> *legere* `gather'      - *colligere* `collect'.

Second, the preverbs are combined with various verbs which do not signify motion or transport nor even a physical activity at all. Here again, whatever the specific contribution of the preverb to the verbal meaning, it renders the verb terminative. Examples include:

> *facere* `make'      - *conficere* `accomplish' - *reficere* `restore',
> *struere* `build'      - *construere* `construct',
> *discere* `learn'      - *condiscere* `learn thoroughly' - *perdiscere* `learn completely',
> *monstrare* `show' - *demonstrare* `demonstrate',
> *arguere* `argue, charge' - *coarguere* `prove guilty'.

As these examples show, the preverb *con-* often is devoid of any specific meaning and serves no other purpose but to convert the verb into terminative aspectual character.

Some concepts that are inherently terminative may only be expressed by a compound verb. Thus, there is no simplex for *compl´re* `fill', *affligere* `knock down', *exstinguere* `extinguish'. Generally that preverb is used whose meaning most naturally fits the verbal meaning.

Some verbs are ambiguous between a durative and a terminative meaning. That is, in contradistinction to such verbs as *cedere* and *ducere* mentioned above, they not only allow a durative reading, but also a terminative one even in the absence of limiting adverbials. Examples are:

urere `burn, consume'; durative: *etsi procul abest, urit male* `although it is far away, it burns badly' (Pl. Mo. 3, 1, 81); terminative: *hominem mortuum ... in urbe ne sepelito neue urito* `in the city thou shalt not bury nor cremate a dead person' (Cic. Leg. 2, 23, 58).

terere `rub, rub to pieces'; durative : *ubi lapis lapidem terit* `where one stone rubs another (i.e. a mill) (Pl. As. 31); terminative: *teritur Sicyonia baca trapetis* `the Sicyonian olive is pressed out in oil-mills' (Verg. Georg. 2, 519).

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[3] The observations on preverbs made in García-Hernández 1989 relate more to such specific meanings than to the (more abstract) aktionsart.

In such cases, there is usually the possibility of disambiguation in favor of the terminative reading by prefixation; e.g. *comburere* `consume', *conterere* `grind.' Verbs with this kind of ambiguity may be called durative-terminative.

Finally, it should be noted that preverbation does not generally have a terminativizing effect. Thus, *oppugnare* `besiege' is as durative as its simplex *pugnare* `fight'; but the alternative compound *expugnare* `take by assault, storm' is, in fact, terminative.

2.6. Ingressive predicates

An ingressive situation is one that has a built-in starting point, after which it may continue as a state or process. Apart from a problem to be mentioned shortly, the kind of continuation is irrelevant because the focus is on the turn from absence to presence of the situation. For the same reason, ingressive situations are very close to punctual ones. It is hard to discern basic ingressive verbs. Although examples such as *uenire* `come' or *oriri* `arise' come to mind, they could as well be punctual. The reason is probably that only a derived ingressive verb unambiguously embodies the state or process ensuing the crucial turn. There is, however, at least one verb which is ambiguous between a durative and an ingressive reading: *haer´re* `hang, get stuck'.

There are two main morphological processes for the derivation of ingressive verbs. One is preverbation, mostly with *ex-* `out', but occasionally with other preverbs, as in *fugere* `flee' - *aufugere* `flee away'. The other one is suffixation of *-sc-* with subsequent transfer into the consonantal conjugation, as in *pau´re* `be afraid' - *pauescere* `become afraid'. Very often, there are both kinds of ingressive derivatives from a given simplex, and equally often the two morphological processes are combined. Here are some examples:

dormire `sleep'	- *obdormire, dormiscere, obdormiscere* `fall asleep',
ard´re `burn'	- *exard´re, ardescere, exardescere* `be inflamed, take fire',
flor´re `bloom'	- *efflor´re, florescere, efflorescere* `come out in blossom, spring up'.

Verbs derived in the *-sc*-suffix have traditionally been called inchoatives. They can be formed very productively from stative - *´*-verbs.[4] Some examples follow:

alb´re `be white'	- *albescere* `become white',
ual´re `be strong'	- *ualescere* `grow strong',
heb´re `be blunt'	- *hebescere* `become blunt',
pat´re `be open'	- *patescere* `open',
pall´re `be pale'	- *pallescere, expallescere* `get pale',
tac´re `keep silent'	- *conticescere* `become still'.

A semantic analysis of such *-sc*-verbs shows that many of them are actually not at all ingressive, but durative. The following example shows this quite clearly:

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[4] Several *-sc*-verbs of this class have no *-e*-verb corresponding to them, but are directly based on an adjective. Cases in point include *durus* `hard' - *durescere* `become hard' or *senex* `old' - *senescere* `grow old'. Cf. Lemaire 1979:23-61 for details.

nos uicesimum iam diem patimur hebescere aciem horum auctoritatis `we have been allowing
   the sharpness of these men's authority to become blunt for twenty days already' (Cic. Cat. 1,
   2, 4).

Again, *albescere* is not really `start to be white', but rather `gradually turn white', and similarly
for *ualescere*. Some of these verbs are actually terminative,[5] and others are durative-terminative,
allowing a terminative interpretation in certain contexts. Thus, *maturescere* `ripen, come to
maturity' is necessarily terminative, and *senescere* `grow old' is terminative in the following
example:

auus [Augusti] tranquilissime senuit `Augustus's grandfather grew old in complete peace' (Suet.
   Aug. 2).

The terminativity of *maturescere* may be made explicit in the derivation *commaturescere* `reach
maturity'. Similarly, the duratives *senescere* and *ualescere* may be turned into the terminatives
consenescere `reach old age' and *conualescere* `recover', which would not be possible if they were
ingressive.

   It may be concluded that the term `inchoative' is mostly applied to durative or durative-
terminative verbs which are derived from state predicates. Inchoative aspectual character is thus
a kind of durative aktionsart and clearly distinct from ingressive aktionsart. The Latin -*sc*-suffix,
however, has the general function of raising the dynamicity of its base. The result varies
according to the aspectual character of the base. If the base designates a relative state (as in
heb´re), then the derived verb is durative. If the base designates an absolute state (as in *tac´re*)
or a durative process (as in *flor´re*), then the derived verb is ingressive. Difficulties of classi-
fication arise because certain states may be interpreted as either absolute or relative. Thus, if
pat´re designates an absolute state, then *patescere* is ingressive; if it designates a relative state,
then *patescere* is durative; and analogously for *pall´re* - *pallescere*. Here as elsewhere, reanalysis
of the base provides the condition for the expansion of a derivational process.

   There is one lexical field which provides regular durative-ingressive pairs in many
languages, namely body positions. Cf. English *stand - stand up, lie - lie down, kneel - kneel down*
etc. In Latin, this field has no formal structure at all, witness the following examples (cf. Comrie
1985:309-311 for the situation in Russian):

   stare `stand'          - *sistere* `stand still' (*surgere* `get up'),
   sed´re `sit'           - *sidere* `sit down',
   cubare (iac´re) `lie' - *procumbere* `lie down'.

Also, some complex verbs are semantically ingressive without bearing a regular morphological
relationship to an atelic verb. Thus, *expergere, expergisci* `awake', although somehow related to
pergere (cf. Paul. ex Fest. p.215 Müll.), is not synchronically derivable from any word meaning
`(be) awake'. Similar considerations apply to *proficisci* `set out, depart' (cf. German ingressive
abreisen from durative *reisen*).

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[5] Pinkster 1988:329 observes this for *calescere* `get warm'.

Interestingly, there may be cases of ingressive verbs derived from punctual ones. *Erumpere* `break out, erupt' and *exoriri* `arise' (cf. above) may be examples. If this is correct, it would provide an argument against subsuming ingressive predicates under punctual ones.

An ingressive predicate could in principle apply to two participants. Consider the following semantic proportions:

ardˊre - exardˊre	*dormire - obdormire*	
urere - x	? - y	*uidˊre* - z

It seems clear that x = *incendere* `kindle', y = *sopire* `lull asleep' and z = *conspicere/aspicere* `catch sight of'. However, for one thing, there is no formal derivational relationship in such pairs. For another, in most cases the transitive verb found is, semantically, not really the ingressive counterpart to its durative (left) partner in the above proportions, but rather the causative counterpart to its intransitive (upper) partner. This is because "ingression" of a situation manifests itself on the undergoer, not on the actor. This does not, however, apply to *uidere - conspicere*, whose subject is an experiencer.[6]

2.7. Punctual predicates

A punctual situation is one whose beginning coincides with its end. There are numerous basic punctual verbs, such as:

salire `jump',
cadere `fall',
nuere `nod',
dicere `say',
iacere `throw',
mittere `send',

etc. (cf. the bases of the iterative verbs in §2.4). Derivational processes that specifically produce punctual verbs are rare in the world's languages. The Russian semelfactive, which converts a durative (esp. iterative) verb into a punctual one, may be mentioned. Processes based on non-verbs will usually neither be intended nor be apt to yield exclusively punctual verbs. Little wonder, then, that there is apparently no derivational process in Latin for the formation of punctual verbs.

This does not, of course, mean that punctual verbs form a closed class in Latin (or in any other language). A lot of derivational processes just form verbs irrespective of the aspectual character. Thus, denominal *-a*-verbs may be durative, such as *lacrima* `tear' - *lacrimare* `weep', but they may as well be punctual, such as *multa* `penalty' - *multare* `punish' or *donum* `present' - *donare* `present'. Again, preverbation generally does not change the aspectual character of telic bases. Therefore, *capere* `seize' - *accipere* `accept' are both punctual, and so are *cadere* `fall' - *decidere* `fall down (from)'. If there is no process designed to feed a specific class, that does not mean that the class is not fed at all.

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[6] As far as the evidence goes, *specere* is apparently ambivalent between controlled `look' and uncontrolled `see'. The derived *spectare* is only controlled.

3. Conclusion

We have applied the schema in F1 to the facts of Latin in mapping the predicate classes that it provides onto Latin word classes and aspectual characters. The result may be visualized as in F2.

F2. *Predicate classes and word classes in Latin*

```
timeless               | durative | terminative  ingressive  punctual
class inclusion  property | state   process              |        event
<-------------------------------------------------------------------------->
noun    |    adjective    |                    verb
```

We have seen that there are productive processes of word formation that provide new members of each of the classes, with one exception: although adjectives designating states may be formed freely, there are no means of forming stative verbs. This class is sterile in Latin. It will all but die out on the way to the Romance languages, with a few items such as French *savoir, connaître* etc. left. On the other hand, as we have seen in §2.3, the use of verbs for the representation of stative predicates was still productive in Proto-Indo-European.

As for the adjective in ancient Indo-European languages, it is so much nominal in its grammatical properties that we may be justified in assuming that its functional potential was close to that of nouns s.s. at the origin. During the development leading to the Romance languages, the adjective has gradually widened its functional scope towards the right in F1/F2, thus ousting the verb from the representation of stative predicates. In a dynamic characterization of the situation found in Classical Latin and schematized in F2, we could say that it represents a transitional stage in the evolution of the adjective as a major part of speech. Given that the adjective is somehow in the center of a noun-verb continuum, if it evolves in a language, it may start out either from the pole of the noun or from the pole of the verb. Once it starts out from the noun, its expansion is bound to reduce the functional load of the verb in the language. Consequently, this result fits in with earlier observations on the highly nominal character of modern Indo-European languages in comparison with others.

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